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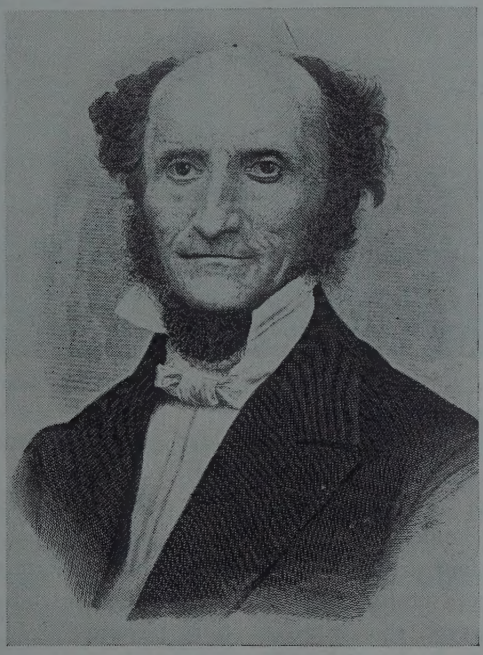

Carl Ferdinand Wilhelm Walther, D. D.
11 October 1811 to 7 May 1887

Walther at Altenburg

By WILLIAM J. SCHMELDER, S. T. M.*

Introduction

The Altenburg Debate has been called the event which was definitely the making of C. F. W. Walther.[1] Any event in the life of a theologian of Walther's stature which can be so described deserves attention. In view of the later work of Walther and the position of leadership which he held in The Lutheran Church — Missouri Synod, it is incumbent on those who would know Walther to understand the event which was his "making."

In 1839 a group of emigrants from Saxony arrived in St. Louis

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[1] Carl S. Mundinger, *Government in the Missouri Synod* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1947), p. 114.

The *Johann Georg*, on which Walther arrived in New Orleans on 5 January 1839

under the leadership of Martin Stephan. They had emigrated for religious reasons; they were convinced that they could not exercise their faith according to the dictates of their consciences in the land of their birth. However, shortly after they had settled in St. Louis and in Perry County, Missouri, Stephan was deposed from his position of leadership and expelled from the colony.

For two years the colonists were in a state of confusion and uncertainty. They were perplexed by a number of serious questions: Had they been wrong in their allegiance to Stephan? Was the emigration a sinful act on their part? Were they a church? Did their clergy have the authority to function? Were the official acts performed by the clergy valid? What was the solution to their many problems? It was not until 1841 that an acceptable solution was offered. This solution was presented by C. F. W. Walther in the form of eight theses which he successfully defended at the Altenburg Debate.

It is beyond the scope of this study to discuss the background for the debate, such as the emigration, the founding of the colony, the expulsion of Stephan, and the activities of the colonists during the two years prior to the debate. This has been adequately presented in other studies.[2] This study is concerned with the solutions offered to the problems of the colony, the reasons why these solutions were not acceptable, the solution offered by Walther, the

[2] Walter O. Forster, *Zion on the Mississippi* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1953), pp. 27—506; Mundinger, pp. 41—108.

source of his theses, and an analysis of his presentation of the doctrine of the church.

The Solution Offered by Vehse

The first attempt to find answers to the questions which plagued the colonists was made by Dr. Carl Eduard Vehse. Vehse was one of the most prominent men who had joined the emigration. He was well-educated and highly trained. In 1833, at the age of thirty-one, he became curator of the Saxon State Archives. He was attached to Stephan in a very personal manner.[3] When Stephan was arrested by the authorities in Dresden as a result of his activities, Vehse was one of the first to rise to his defense.[4] His signature appeared on the document which declared Stephan to be the bishop of the colony.[5] He was one of the first to disagree with Stephan after the emigrants arrived in America.[6] He also signed the sentence of deposition pronounced on Stephan on 30 May 1839.[7] As long as he remained in the colony he was one of its most prominent figures.[8] Mundinger is probably correct when he refers to Vehse as "perhaps the most learned of the entire group."[9]

Vehse's first attempt at offering a solution to the problems which beset the colony appeared in the form of six theses which dealt with the office of the ministry; these were submitted to O. H. Walther on 5 August 1839.[10] In these theses Vehse asserted the Lutheran doctrine of the universal priesthood of all believers. The application of this theological principle to the problems of the colony was made particularly in the last thesis, in which Vehse argued that the office of the ministry was only a public service, and it was that only when it was committed to the individual by the entire congregation.[11] On the same day O. H. Walther replied that he was in agreement with the theses, and he agreed to submit them to the other members of the clergy.[12]

It was not until 9 September 1839 that the clergy made an answer. It did so in a letter to the St. Louis congregation which warned the members against those "who would unfairly abuse this declaration in order to discredit our office, maliciously sow the seeds of distrust against us, and bring about dissension and offense in the congregation."[13] It was quite evident that the members of the clergy who signed this letter were not ready to meet the issues raised by Vehse nor to completely abandon what they had learned from Stephan.

This was not sufficient to silence Vehse. He and his associates pre-

3 Forster, p. 58; Mundinger, p. 56.
4 Forster, p. 93.
5 Ibid., pp. 288—90.
6 Ibid., p. 390.
7 Ibid., p. 418.
8 Ibid., p. 437.
9 Mundinger, p. 95.
10 Carl E. Vehse, *Die Stephan'sche Auswanderung nach Amerika; Mit Actenstuecken* (Dresden: Verlagsexpedition des Dresdner Wochenblattes, 1840), pp. 103—105; Mundinger, pp. 96, 97.
11 Vehse, p. 105.
12 Forster, p. 463; Mundinger, p. 97
13 Forster, p. 463.

pared a more complete statement of their views. They urged that the contents of their statements be carefully considered by both the pastors and the emigrants for the sake of sound doctrine. The content of this statement can be seen from the three points of the outline:

> I Evidence concerning the rights of the congregation in relation to the clergy in religious and ecclesiastical matters.
> II Evidence against the wrong Stephanite system, in which the rights of the congregation are not respected, but suppressed.
> III Evidence from Luther and (a statement of) our private opinion on the justifiability of the emigration.[14]

The first point which this document wished to establish was that in the sight of God all men are priests; they are the church. The second point was that the entire system of Stephan was based on an incorrect theological premise; the church, Vehse and his associates insisted, could establish the office of the ministry at will, without ordination. Quite naturally, the pastors were severely criticized in the discussion of this second point. Thirdly, the framers of this document came to the conclusion that the emigration was not necessary for the preservation of the pure doctrine; in fact, they concluded that the emigration had been wrong from the very start.[15]

The solution which Vehse and his associates offered to the problems which beset the community was a drastic one. It demanded that everyone change his entire opinion of the emigration. The complete structure of the movement was called into question on theological grounds. The emigration idea was based on the hierarchical theory of the church. This very premise was repudiated. The church was conceived as the sum total of all believers; the pastoral office was conferred upon the candidate by the congregation. Not only was Stephan wrong, but his entire system was in error. The emigrants had left Germany because they had been convinced by their leaders, Stephan and the other members of the clergy, that they could not remain in Germany and enjoy the free exercise of their faith in pure doctrine. As Vehse and his associates viewed the situation, they were convinced that, although the theological climate in Germany was not the most conducive, yet it was not as the clergy had pictured it to them. The colonists had been wrong in emigrating for the sake of religious liberty.

On 9 November the pastors issued a reply to the statement of Vehse and his associates. They declared that they were ashamed of the part which they had played, but they claimed that they had been duped by Stephan. They asserted that they had repudiated Stephanism in all its ramifications. They promised that they would correct the errors which might occur in the future. Finally, for the sake of peace they would give up episcopal polity.[16] To this

[14] Ibid., p. 464.

[15] Vehse, pp. 54—141.

[16] Forster, pp. 468, 469.

last concession on the part of the clergy, Vehse remarked that one could give up only what one possessed; the pastors could not give up episcopal polity because it had not been given to them by the people.[17] However, the members of the clergy

Otto Herman Walther, died 21 January 1841, brother of C. F. W. Walther

made no attempt to answer the specific charges leveled against them for their misuse of their authority.[18]

Although only three men were involved in the preparation of this statement, the questions which it raised were bound to affect every member of the colony. Soon after the controversy broke, the communal lands were distributed.[19] The Saint Louis congregation officially reprimanded its pastor, O. H. Walther, for his Stephanism and insisted that he adhere to the Holy Scriptures and the Symbols of the Lutheran Church.[20]

However, the colonists were not prepared to accept the solution offered by Vehse. Most of the influential members of the group had not made up their minds; even Dr. Adolph Marbach, Vehse's brother-in-law and the man who was to lead the next move for the solution of the colony's difficulties, was not prepared to share Vehse's views.[21]

There was little left for Vehse to do but to leave the colony. He was intelligent enough to see the apparent hopelessness of the situation. In disgust, he decided to return to Germany. There is evidence that he had had this in mind ever since Stephan was discredited. As soon as he was able to overcome the financial difficulties which stood in his way, Vehse departed for Germany on the *Johann Georg*. On the voyage he wrote his *Die Stephan'sche Auswanderung*, which was published on his return to Dresden.[22] With the departure of Vehse the first attempt to come to grips with the problems of the colony ended in failure.

The Solution Offered by Marbach

The departure of Vehse from St. Louis on 16 December 1839 marked the end of the first period of the crisis which followed on the heels of the expulsion of Stephan from the colony. Until this time both the

17 Vehse, p. 153.
18 Forster, p. 469.
19 Cf. ibid., pp. 443—57.
20 Ibid., p. 469.
21 Ibid., p. 470.
22 Ibid., p. 471; Mundinger, p. 109.

clergy and the laity had adopted a relative complacency toward the theological issues which were raised by Vehse. Now the calm was broken by the storm. Numerous confessions of guilt on the part of the pastors made their appearance.[23] But Vehse's importance lies in more than the mere fact that his work elicited confessions of guilt. Vehse provided the stimulus for further action on the part of the colonists. The questions which he raised demanded answers. Though the solution which he offered was unacceptable, it nevertheless served to point out the need for an acceptable solution to the problems.

To the many questions which plagued the colonists only two extreme answers were possible: either the entire venture was justifiable, or it was entirely wrong. There was no compromise which seemed satisfactory; it seemed to be a matter of choosing between two untenable alternatives, neither of which correctly evaluated the situation.

One of the most extreme advocates of the position that the emigration had been entirely wrong was Dr. Adolph Marbach, the brother-in-law of Vehse. Although there were others who shared his convictions, especially Ferdinand Sproede, it was Marbach who was to be the leading spokesman for the lay party in the attempts to find a solution for the problems which beset the colony.

Franz Adolph Marbach was another of the prominent individuals who became attracted to Stephan and the emigration idea and came to America. By profession he was a lawyer, and as such he was at one time in the Saxon civil service.[24] He was a capable, energetic, learned individual. In his loyalty to Stephan he went so far as to claim that Stephanism was the only right church.[25] With Vehse he came to Stephan's defense when the latter was arrested by the government.[26] From December 1837 to December 1838 he was Stephan's right hand man.[27] It was Marbach who petitioned the vestry of Christ Church Cathedral for permission to use the facilities of that congregation for the place of worship of the Saxon settlement in Saint Louis.[28] When the time for discrediting Stephan's leadership came, it was Marbach who consulted a St. Louis lawyer for advice on the proper manner of dealing with Stephan.[29] Marbach was certainly one of the most influential members of the colony, and one who had been deeply involved in the affairs of the emigration.

For some time the group headed by Marbach encountered no effective opposition. One would have expected the pastors to have reacted to the agitation stirred by this group, but the pastors were too insecure and

[23] Cf. Forster, pp. 511—16; Mundinger, pp. 102—107.

[24] Forster, p. 58.

[25] Ibid., p. 64.

[26] Ibid., p. 93; Walter A. Baepler, *A Century of Grace* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1947), p. 21.

[27] Forster, pp. 113—138; Mundinger, pp. 68—72.

[28] Forster, p. 320.

[29] Ibid., p. 400.

confused to offer much in the line of constructive thought. Loeber, Keyl, and Gruber reached a certain measure of agreement. In general, they adopted a policy of passive resistance, admitting only that which was absolutely necessary.[30] The Marbach faction refused to take part in any of the worship services in the colony, and instead conducted their own devotional meetings at the

E. G. W. Keyl,
Walther's brother-in-law
(1804—1872)

homes of those who agreed with them.[31] The pastors were unable to rise to the need of the hour, and many of the colonists entertained the doubts which were raised by the Marbach faction.

On 3 March 1841 the storm broke in all its fury. Marbach issued a manifesto in which he charged that the entire foundation on which the church polity had been erected was sinful and that the blessings of God could not be expected until the old edifice had been completely destroyed. What Marbach meant was that a confession of guilt must be made on the part of the entire colony, and that they must all return to Germany.[32]

The manifesto of Marbach seems to have caused considerable disturbance among the colonists. This was, of course, quite natural. What Marbach proposed was that they were not a church, that they had been in error in emigrating from Saxony, and that the emigration was sinful *per se*. The only solution for the ills of the colony that Marbach offered was a confession of guilt and the return to the homeland. Marbach asserted that only a moral issue was involved. From the financial standpoint a return to Germany was impossible; the colonists hardly had enough financial resources to make ends meet, let alone to return to Germany.

Shortly after Marbach issued his manifesto, a conference was held in Dresden, one of the settlements in Perry County. Present at this meeting were Pastors G. H. Loeber, E. G. W. Keyl, K. F. Gruber, and E. M. Buerger; Candidate Th. Brohm; Magister E. G. M. Wege; and F. A. Marbach.[33] At this meeting Marbach reiterated the assertions which he had made in the manifesto. Buerger, Brohm, and Wege were in agreement with Marbach. Neither Loeber nor Keyl was able to disprove the claims of Marbach. Mundinger states that one of the reasons for this

[30] Ibid., p. 518.
[31] Ibid., p. 519.
[32] Mundinger, pp. 110, 111.
[33] Forster, pp. 519, 520.

The Perry County Log Cabin College (replica on Concordia Seminary campus)

was that the two pastors also made a moral issue of the problem.[34] In the midst of all this confusion Buerger announced that he was "formally severing all relations with the ecclesiastical life of the community."[35] It was evident from this conference that the dissension which was disrupting the colony was in need of a better solution to the problems which it faced than the ones which had been offered up to this time. The solution was to come as a result of the Altenburg Debate.

The Altenburg Debate

Marbach's solution to the problems which beset the colony demanded an answer. The pastors who had met with him and his associates demonstrated that they had nothing better to offer. If spiritual peace were ever to come to the colony, an acceptable solution had to be brought forth.

There were a number of reasons why the solution offered by Marbach was unacceptable. In the first place, Marbach and his associates saw only a moral issue in the emigration and in the difficulties which the colony faced; in this respect many of the pastors agreed with Marbach. Secondly, the return to Germany which was an integral part of Marbach's proposal was financially impossible; the cost of the emigration, the purchase of the Perry County land, and the extravagances of the deposed Martin Stephan had sapped the economic resources of the colonists. Thirdly, many of the colonists would have found it virtually impossible to return to Germany, even if the funds for the journey were available.

[34] Mundinger, p. 111.
[35] Forster, p. 520.

C. F. W. Walther had not been present at the conference which had been arranged between Marbach's group and the other pastors after Marbach had issued his manifesto. It is difficult to ascertain how much influence Walther was exerting at this meeting. Mundinger is of the opinion that the behavior of Keyl and Loeber at the meeting indicates that they were under some pressure from Walther.[36]

However, it is known that Walther had given much care to the problems of the colony, also that he had access to the library of Pastor Keyl. Walther himself admits that he had given the document prepared by Carl Vehse considerable thought, and he confesses his debt to the work of this individual.[37] Furthermore, Walther could not have lived in the same house with Keyl without having discussed the situation, the manifesto of Marbach, and the conference which was held.

Who actually initiated the set of circumstances which resulted in the Altenburg Debate cannot be determined with any degree of accuracy. Forster does not discuss the question; he merely states that a formal discussion was arranged between the opposing groups.[38] Baepler states that the debate was arranged at the suggestion of Buerger.[39] Polack believes that Walther, Keyl, and Loeber arranged for the debate.[40] Mundinger confesses that the documents on hand do not reveal the extent to which Walther "promoted the rising clamor for a full and free public debate of all the issues involved in the lay-clerical controversy"; he does not elaborate on who was responsible for beginning the "rising clamor."[41] From the standpoint of the preparation which he had done, it is not improbable that Walther was in favor of such a meeting. That he was eminently prepared for the debate cannot be disputed. Whether or not he actually brought forth the suggestion for such a disputation cannot be determined.

In order to arrive at an acceptable solution to the problems which faced the colonists, a public disputation was arranged for 15 and 20 April 1841 in Altenburg, one of the settlements in Perry County. The site which was chosen for the debate was the college which had been founded in December 1839.

As many people as could be crowded into the one-room building were on hand for the discussions. On the basis of the available evidence, it cannot be determined who presided at the debate; none of the authorities hazard a conjecture as to who this individual might have been. At times the sessions became a bit stormy. Pastor Buerger seems to have been the center of such an outburst. At

36 Mundinger, p. 111.

37 J. F. Koestering, *Auswanderung der saechsischen Lutheraner in Jahre 1838, ihre Niederlassung in Perry-Co., Mo., und damit zusammenhaengende interessante Nachrichten* (St. Louis: A. Wiebusch u. Sohn, 1867), p. 43.

38 Forster, p. 523.

39 Baepler, p. 47.

40 W. G. Polack, *The Story of C. F. W. Walther* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1935), p. 47.

41 Mundinger, p. 112.

one point in the discussion he was accused of calling the Sacrament of the Altar a "comedy." Although he denied the charge, it was sustained by the pastors on the statement of two laymen. In the confusion that followed Buerger could not succeed in gaining the floor. By the time he did, he was unable to change the impression which had been made.[42]

Outside of such outbursts as this, the debate was carried on in relatively calm theological discussion. Both Walther and Marbach were heard. Each of these men attempted to push personalities into the background and discuss the real issues at stake. Marbach, who viewed the whole matter in a moral fashion, was not as successful in this endeavor as was Walther. However, in fairness it must be said that Marbach does not belong in the same class as his associate, Buerger.

Marbach's solution to the problems which he offered at Altenburg was essentially the same which had appeared in his manifesto of the previous month. He was convinced that the emigration had been a sinful act, that the colonists did not have the church among them, and that the only solution was to confess their guilt and return to Germany. At the outset of the discussion he wanted to impress upon those present that he was not a professional theologian. He considered it a sin for a person to enter into the field for which God had not called him. However, as a layman he insisted that it was his right and duty to investigate the doctrine and polity of the church. His major concern was an answer to the question whether or not this group had the right to call pastors and to function as the church. He was seeking security for himself and for the rest of the colonists. It was for this reason that he was participating in the debate. A number of times Marbach expressed his disapproval of the theological formality which had begun to characterize the debate; no doubt he had particular reference to the theses which Walther had formulated.

Marbach had separated himself from the worship life of the colony. During the course of the debate he explained that he had done this because Stephanism had not been completely rooted out of the colony, because the great public offenses had not been acknowledged and removed, because the ecclesiastical polity of the group was founded on an insecure foundation, because he doubted that the true Christian church existed among them, and because he doubted that the office of the ministry as it existed among them was the command and work of God.[43]

Marbach was guilty of simply making a moral issue of the problem. This is very evident from the way he proceeded at Altenburg. His first major point centered on the definition of a false church. He concluded that every church which has adulterated the foundation of the church, meaning Jesus Christ, is a false

[42] Forster, p. 523.

[43] Mundinger, pp. 115—17.

church. The emigration group had done just this; therefore, they were a false church. Until the false foundation of the colony was completely destroyed, it was under the wrath of God. There could be no salvation in such a church.[44] The only solution which he offered was a repetition of that presented in his manifesto.

Walther attacked the position of Marbach at its root, the moral question.[45] In order to place the issues in their proper perspective, Walther "pushed personalities and morals into the background" and attacked the issues "from the viewpoint of sixteenth century Lutheran theology." The questions for Walther were not ones of guilt and confession, but of the nature of the church, the call into the ministry, and the validity of such a call.[46]

In order to find answers to these questions, Walther brought forth a set of theses which he was prepared to defend. These theses are so important for an understanding of Walther's position that they are quoted in full:

I

The true Church, in the most real and most perfect sense, is the totality (*Gesamtheit*) of all true believers, who from the beginning to the end of the world from among all peoples and tongues have been called and sanctified by the Holy Spirit through the Word. And since God alone knows these true believers (2 Tim. 2:19), the Church is also called invisible. No one belongs to this true Church who is not spiritually united with Christ, for it is the spiritual body of Jesus Christ.

II

The name of the true Church belongs also to all those visible companies of men among whom God's Word is purely taught and the holy Sacraments are administered according to the institution of Christ. True, in this Church there are godless men, hypocrites, and heretics, but they are not true members of it, nor do they constitute the Church.

III

The name Church, and, in a certain sense, the name true Church, belongs also to those visible companies of men who have united under the confession of a falsified faith and therefore have incurred the guilt of a partial departure from the truth; provided they possess so much of God's Word and the holy Sacraments in purity that children of God may thereby be born. When such companies are called true churches, it is not the intention to state that they are faithful, but only that they are real churches as opposed to all worldly organizations (*Gemeinschaften*).

IV

The name Church is not improperly applied to heterdox companies, but according to the manner of speech of the Word of God itself. It is also not immaterial that this high name is allowed to such communions, for out of this follows: —

1. That members also of such companies may be saved; for without the Church there is no salvation.

V

2. The outward separation of a heterodox company from an orthodox Church is not necessarily a separation from the universal Christian Church nor a relapse into heathenism and does not yet deprive that company of the name Church.

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44 Ibid., 118, 119.
45 Ibid., 119, 120.
46 Ibid., p. 120.

VI

3. Even heterodox companies have church power; even among them the goods of the Church may be validly administered, the ministry established, the Sacraments validly administered, and the keys of the kingdom of heaven exercised.

VII

4. Even heterodox companies are not to be dissolved, but reformed.

VIII

The orthodox Church is chiefly to be judged by the common, orthodox, public confession to which its members acknowledge and confess themselves to be pledged.[47]

Walther proceeded to prove the correctness of his theses in an impersonal manner. So far as it is known, he never mentioned his opponents by name.[48] In a quiet, tactful manner he proceeded to show that the colonists were indeed a church, that they could call pastors, and that they could function as the church. Walther based his conclusions on the teaching of the Holy Scriptures, the Lutheran Confessions, Luther, and other great Lutheran theologians, especially Gerhard. Walther's method was pastoral in its approach and theological in its content. His assessment of the problem is stated in his own words:

> It is a question of quieting of conscience, of the rejection of false teaching seeking to insinuate itself under the guise of humility, of the firm holding of the true doctrine of the Church, church power, office, call, fellowship, power of the Word and the divine order. It is not a question of any man's honor or justification, but of the honor of God.[49]

It was from this standpoint that Walther viewed the questions which plagued the colonists, and it was for this reason that he set down theses and defended them at Altenburg.

The Influence of Vehse on Walther

On 5 August 1839 Dr. Carl Vehse had come forth with a set of theses which he offered as a solution to the problems of the colony. In these theses he had asserted the doctrine of the universal priesthood of all believers and had come to the conclusion that on the basis of this doctrine the members of the colony constituted a church. Because they were a church, the colonists had the right and the privilege to function as a church, to organize congregations, to call pastors, and to administer the sacraments.

At the Altenburg Debate in April 1841 Walther successfully defended a set of theses which posited a similar solution to the chaos which plagued the colonists since the deposition of Stephan. Walther asserted that the colonists were a church; that the church was in reality the sum total

[47] Forster, pp. 523—25. These are given in the original German in Koestering, pp. 51, 52.

[48] Mundinger, p. 122.

[49] D. H. Steffens, *Dr. Carl Ferdinand Wilhelm Walther* (Philadelphia: The Lutheran Publication Society, 1917), pp. 168, 69, quoting from Koestering, p. 50.

of all true believers; that since the colonists were a church, they could function as the church; and that the false doctrine inherent in the Stephanite system was not sufficient to deprive the group of its character as a church.

Because there was a great deal of similarity between the theses of Vehse and the theses of Walther, it is quite natural to ask how much influence Vehse exerted on the ecclesiological thinking of Walther as he formulated it at Altenburg. In the notes which Walther prepared for the debate, which have been preserved in Koestering's work,[50] Walther acknowledges his indebtedness to Vehse:

> God removed a great oppressor from our midst, to whom we, contrary to the will of God, had entrusted ourselves as to a leader from heaven. What would have become of us if God had not continued to have compassion on us? But God did not yet weary of being merciful to us; He awakened men among us who gave public testimony of what they recognized as a remaining corruption. With deep gratitude I must here recall that document which, now almost a year and a half ago, Doctor Vehse, Mr. Fischer, and Mr. Jaeckel addresed to us. It was this document, in particular, which gave us a powerful impulse to recognize the remaining corruption more and more, and to endeavor to remove it. Without this document — I now confess it with a living conviction — we might have for a long time pursued our way of error, from which we now have made our escape. I confess this with an even greater sense of shame, because I at first appeared so ungrateful towards this precious gift of God. But although many with me handled with great unfaithfulness the light which was granted to us, yet God did not cease to cause ever more beams of truth to fall into our darkness; to tear us away from many a point which we, in our perverseness, sought to hold; to uncover to us great and perilous spiritual injuries, and to lead our hearts more and more in the way of truth.[51]

From this it can be seen that Walther was not blind to the contribution which Vehse and his associates had made. On the contrary, the work of these men helped Walther to see the issues at stake more clearly and aided him in the formulation of his own position.

However, it must not be assumed that Walther merely adopted the same line of argumentation which Vehse had used. Walther's approach to the problem was quite different from the approach of Vehse. Vehse had advocated an extreme form of congregationalism, and in doing so he was plainly leveling his attack on the members of the clergy. Walther began with the same premise as Vehse, the doctrine of the universal priesthood of all believers, but his aim was constructive, rather than destructive.[52]

Furthermore, it is only in the first three of the eight Altenburg Theses that Walther follows the line of thought as it had been laid down by Vehse. In these Walther discusses the nature of the church as the

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[50] Ibid., pp. 42—52.

[51] Baepler, pp. 47, 48, quoting from Koestering, pp. 43—45.

[52] Forster, pp. 521—23.

totality of all believers, the distinction between the visible and the invisible church, the definition of the visible church as that group of individuals among whom the Word of God is rightly taught and the sacraments are administered according to Christ's institution, and the application of the name church to those who have followed a falsified faith. In the assertion of these principles Walther is reiterating the thoughts of Vehse, although he has approached the material from a somewhat different perspective.

In the last five of the theses Walther is supplementing the thoughts of Vehse, and these theses constitute Walther's major contribution at Altenburg. In the last five theses Walther shows the real issues which existed between him and Marbach. In these Walther argues that the application of the term church to heterodox societies is of the utmost importance because of the implications which this usage demands: first, that members of such groups can be saved; secondly, that outward separation of such a society from the orthodox church does not necessarily imply separation from the universal church; thirdly, that heterodox churches have all of the rights of the church; and finally, that such churches are in need of reform, and not of dissolution. These principles were necessary to combat the position taken by Marbach. These were developed by Walther independently; they were not a part of Vehse's argumentation; any influence which Vehse may have had on Walther in the working out of these theses must be considered only secondary.

However, Walther did take his cue from the methodology employed by Vehse. Vehse had gone back to the writings of Martin Luther and John Gerhard in order to establish the correctness of his principles. Walther advocated the use of this methodology, and in this respect was

probably influenced by the work of Vehse.[53]

By way of summary it may be said that the work of Vehse did make a profound impression on the thinking of Walther, that he incorporated some of Vehse's ideas in his theses, and that he followed the same methodology as Vehse; however, at the same time, it must be added that Walther's approach, his application of the doctrine of the universal priesthood of all believers to the specific needs of the community, his use of the distinction between the visible and the invisible church, and his assertion of the particular implications of the doctrine of the church to the problems which faced the colonists were distinctly his own contribution.

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53 Mundinger, pp. 120, 121.

The Source of Walther's Ecclesiology

It is evident that Walther owed a debt to the work of Vehse in the preparation of his theses at Altenburg, but it would be an incorrect conclusion to assert that Vehse was the source of Walther's ecclesiology. From what sources, then, did Walther derive his doctrine of the church as he presented it at Altenburg?

It had become the common practice for those who attempted to find solutions to the ills of the colony to study the writings of Luther and the other giants of Lutheran theology. Vehse had done this in the preparation of his work. Furthermore, while Walther was living at the home of his brother-in-law, Pastor Keyl, he had access to the fine library which Keyl possessed, and he spent a great amount of time studying the theological writings of Luther and the sixteenth century theologians.

The distinction between the visible and the invisible church, which is very important in the theses of Walther, had been made and defended by John Gerhard. Gerhard defined the invisible church as that which consists alone of true believers; it is the communion of saints which is found everywhere in the world. The visible church contains true believers and hypocrites.[54] Undoubtedly, Walther was indebted to Gerhard for this distinction.

In the manuscript which Walther prepared for the debate he cites only two quotations from Luther. Both of these quotations are from Luther's *Briefe von der Wiedertaufe;* both of them are brief; taken together, they are not enough to indicate that Walther relied heavily on Luther for his ecclesiology.[55] How many quotations from Luther, Gerhard, and the other theologians were used by Walther in the course of the Altenburg Debate cannot be determined; it simply is not known.[56]

However, this does not mean that it is impossible to trace the sources of Walther's ecclesiology. In 1851 Walther published his monumental work, *Die Stimme unserer Kirche in der Frage von Kirche und Amt,*[57] as an answer to the charges which were brought against the Missouri Synod by Pastor J. A. A. Grabau of the Buffalo Synod. Although this work appeared ten years after the Altenburg Debate, the major propositions which Walther defended were essentially the same. Without denying the fact that Walther developed considerably in his theological acumen and stature in the decade that followed the Altenburg Debate, it is possible to trace the source of his ecclesiology from his *Kirche und Amt.* Mundinger is convinced that

54 Ibid., p. 121.

55 Koestering, pp. 46, 47.

56 Mundinger, p. 123.

57 C. F. W. Walther, *Die Stimme unserer Kirche in der Frage von Kirche und Amt* (Dritte Auflage; Erlangen: Verlag von Andreas Deichert, 1875). Portions of this work have ben translated into English by W. H. T. Dau and appeared in Wm. Dallmann, W. H. T. Dau, and Theo. Engelder, *Walther and the Church,* edited by Theo. Engelder (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1938), pp. 47—86. A complete translation of this work is being prepared at the time of this writing.

this work is an expansion of the Altenburg Theses.[58]

In order to trace to a certain degree the source of Walther's ecclesiology as it was presented at Altenburg, it is necessary to review the basic structure and methodology of *Kirche und Amt*. There are nine theses devoted to the doctrine of the church; basically the same position taken at Altenburg is reiterated in these nine theses. The methodology is the same for each thesis: first, the statement of the thesis; secondly, proof from the Word of God *(Beweis aus Gottes Wort);* thirdly, the testimony of the church in her public confessions *(Zeugnisse der Kirche in ihren oeffentlichen Bekenntnissen);* and, fourthly, the testimony of the church in the private writings of her teachers *(Zeugnisse der Kirche in den Privatschriften ihrer Lehrer)*.

The last group is of particular interest to show the source of Walther's ecclesiology. There are one hundred eighty-five quotations from ancient church fathers and Lutheran theologians to demonstrate the correctness of the nine theses on the church. There are forty-six quotations from Luther, thirty-two from Gerhard, sixteen from Augustine, and from one to eight from the other thirty-six authorities cited. Some of the quotations from Luther and Gerhard are several pages in length. It would seem to be a safe assumption that Walther was greatly dependent on these two representatives of Lutheran theology for his ecclesiology.

[58] Mundinger, p. 123.

The Essential Features of Walther's Ecclesiology

Walther's ecclesiology is based on his conception of the church as the communion of saints. The reason for the stress which this receives in his treatment is Walther's soteriological approach to ecclesiology. He cannot conceive of the church as an institutionalized force; for him the church is always the sum total of all true believers in Christ as their Savior and Redeemer.

Because the true church consists only of those who have true faith in Christ, it is invisible to the eyes of the world. Members of the visible church may be hypocrites and heretics, but they are not a part of the invisible. Walther had experienced the effects of the externalization of the church under Pietism, and for this reason the distinction between the visible and the invisible was an essential feature of his ecclesiology.

The church comes into being only through the operation of the Holy Spirit in the Word. Therefore, the church exists wherever the Word is purely taught and the sacraments are administered according to the institution of Christ. These are the marks of the church. In asserting this principle, Walther is denying the necessity of a given church polity, which had been such a vital part of Stephanism, for the existence of the church.

Furthermore, Walther maintains that members of groups which have a false confession of faith are also members of the church. However, these groups must have preserved

The Log Cabin College at Altenburg, Missouri

enough of the saving truth of the Gospel so that faith could be born and nurtured. A group which has denied a portion of the truth has not ceased to be a church. This point was very important to Walther, since it applied directly to the situation at hand. The colonists had been guilty of a false confession in their adherence to Stephan. However, this did not deprive them of being the church. They did not have to return to Germany in order to have membership in the church; they were the church.

In the church as it was constituted among the colonists one could be saved. Although they had separated themselves from their former congregations, they had not lapsed into heathenism. They had not separated themselves from the invisible church. Even in such a church the power which Christ has given to His church is present. For the colonists this was very important. They could establish congregations; they could call pastors; they could administer the means of grace; they could receive absolution.

Walther maintains that heterodox churches are not to be dissolved, but reformed. This is an important principle. Reformation of the church, the purging of the false excrescences of its confession, was more important than the dissolution of the heterodox group.

Finally, Walther asserts that one is to judge the church by its public confession of faith. One does not judge it by its polity, by the piety of its members, by its influences, or by any such thing. The church is to be judged by its confession. This principle pushes personality and outward appearances aside and reveals the very heart of the church: its soteriological concern for the welfare of its members.

These essential features of Walther's ecclesiology were all contained in the crisp and lucid phrases of his theses which he presented at Altenburg. From the theological formality and precision of their formulation one receives a glimpse of the pastoral concern which dominated the thinking of Walther. He was not so much intent on proving his point as he was in bringing peace and solace to the disturbed consciences of the colonists. He did not want to merely conquer his opponents in a battle of words, but he desired to show that the doctrine of the church can never be separated from soteriology.

Muhlenberg as Author

By THEODORE G. TAPPERT, Ph. D., D. D.*

Three years before Henry Melchior Muhlenberg died in 1787, his colleague and son-in-law John Christopher Kunze wrote to the aged patriarch, "Your memory will never die in America, and I hope that posterity will read a great deal about you." This hope has been fulfilled. Besides hundreds of articles which have appraised one or another aspect of his career, seven biographies have been written about Muhlenberg during the last 175 years and no history of American Christianity can overlook his achievements.

Since an abundance of literature about Muhlenberg is accessible to any interested reader, it would appear to be appropriate, on the 250th anniversary of his birth, to review what he himself wrote and not only what others have written about him. This can conveniently be done under six heads.

1. *Occasional Writings.* In 1741, the year before Muhlenberg set out for America, a pamphlet of his was published in Germany in which he warmly defended pietistic conventicles against a critic, *Sendschreiben an den Herrn Doctor Balthasar Mentzer.* Perhaps the fact that this maiden effort called forth sharp rejoinders in the press discouraged him from writing again for some time. Not until 1763 did he consent to the publication of a funeral address in a collection of sermons edited by John Conrad Steiner, *Die herrliche Erscheinung des Herren Jesus zum allgemeinen Welt-Gericht.* A year later Muhlenberg wrote an account of the career of a prisoner to whom he ministered up to the time of his execution and had it published to warn his countrymen, *Merkwuerdige Nachricht von F. W. Authenrieths ehrlichen Abkunft, gottlosen Leben und gerichtlichen Tode.* In 1766 he had a sermon published which he had preached on the occasion of the repeal of the Stamp Act, *Ein Zeugniss von der Guete und Ernst Gottes gegen sein Bundsvolk.* The only other occasional piece which Muhlenberg is known to have written for publication is the preface to the hymnal of 1786, *Erbauliche Lieder-Sammlung.*

2. *Halle Reports.* Other writings of Muhlenberg were published during his life. These were selections from his reports about the missionary labors in which he and his fellow ministers were engaged in the New World. Muhlenberg and his colleagues sent such reports regularly to the directors of the Francke Institutions in Halle, Saxony, from which the missionaries had been sent to America and from which they continued to receive financial and other help. Passages were culled out of these reports and printed in Halle in a series of pamphlets which were intended to inform contributors about what was being done with their

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money in America and to stimulate further contributions. The first pamphlet appeared in 1744, two years after Muhlenberg's arrival in America, and bore the title "Brief Reports of Some Evangelical Congregations in North America, especially in Pennsylvania." Sixteen additional pamphlets or "continuations" were published; the last of them appeared in 1786. In the following year, the year of Muhlenberg's death, all these reports were reprinted in Halle in a single large volume under the title *Nachrichten von den vereinigten Deutschen Evangelisch-Lutherischen Gemeinen in Nord-America, absonderlich in Pennsylvanien.* Popularly they came to be called Halle Reports. An American edition, furnished with elaborate notes and appendices, was published in two volumes at the end of the nineteenth century;[1] two attempts were made to put these reports into English, but neither was carried to completion.[2] About a quarter of the contents of the Halle Reports represent quotations from or summaries of materials supplied by Muhlenberg.

3. *Ministerium Minutes.* It has been said with justice by Professor A. Graebner that the most important event in the history of the Lutheran Church in America during the eighteenth century was the organization in 1748 of the Ministerium of North America (after Muhlenberg's death called the Ministerium of Pennsylvania and Adjacent States). As the name suggests, this was originally a body of ministers, often loosely called "united ministers." Laymen were allowed to attend sessions only on invitation, and it was not until after Muhlenberg's death that the body became a synod, with lay delegates from congregations having equal rights with ministers to voice and vote. Muhlenberg took a leading part not only in the organization of the Ministerium but also in its later history, serving as president for fourteen years. Formal minutes were not kept until 1780, and most of what we know of the proceedings of the body before that date we know from records kept by Muhlenberg. These were assembled and translated into English on the occasion of the 150th anniversary of the founding of the Ministerium.[3]

4. *Diaries.* Some of the minutes of the Ministerium appear in diaries which Muhlenberg kept of his activities throughout his life. It was a common practice in the eighteenth century to engage in daily introspection of one's spiritual life and record observations in a diary. Muhlenberg had additional reasons for writing a day-by-day account of happenings in which he was involved. His an-

[1] *Nachrichten von den vereinigten Deutschen Evangelische-Lutherischen Gemeinen in Nord-America,* ed. William Julius Mann et al. 2 vols. (Philadelphia & Allentown, 1886, 1895).

[2] *Reports of the United German Evangelical Lutheran Congregations in North America,* trans. Jonathan Oswald. 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1880, 1881). Another translation with the same title is C. W. Schaeffer. 1 vol. (Reading, 1882).

[3] *Documentary History of the Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania,* ed. Adolph Spaeth et al. (Philadelphia, 1898).

notations enabled him to lay hands on dates, names, and places of official acts when he prepared reports for his superiors in Europe, was required to testify in court, was under necessity to explain or defend actions of his before colleagues or opponents, or was asked to furnish certificates of baptisms or marriages. However, Muhlenberg's diary entries also contain fascinating descriptions of all aspects of life as he saw it round about him. From his pen we have vivid accounts of pastors and people, food and drink, modes of travel and methods of farming, illnesses and medical treatments, Indians and Negroes, methods of preaching and catechization, organization of congregations and building of churches, practices of public worship and singing of hymns, devotional life and superstitions, the cost of living and the salaries of pastors, recipes for keeping flies off horses and preventing cider from turning sour. Such is the rich variety of things which Muhlenberg recorded. A few portions of these diaries were printed in sharply edited form in the Halle Reports, but most of them were not published until our own time.[4]

5. *Correspondence.* Besides making entries in his diaries, Muhlenberg kept up a lively correspondence. He received letters of instruction and guidance from the directors of the Francke Institutions in Halle and sent them equally long letters in reply. He corresponded with his fellow ministers in America, and he often exchanged letters with elders and deacons of congregations who wished to fill vacant pulpits or who had some kind of local problem or grievance. He wrote to ministers of other communions: German and Dutch Reformed, Presbyterian, An-

glican, and others. In later years, when his children were grown and lived at a distance, he kept in touch with them and their families. Most of these letters were written in German. However, when correspondents could read only English, Muhlenberg wrote in English. With ministers of non-German background he sometimes corresponded in Latin. A few letters were also written in Dutch or his native Platt-deutsch. All together there must be about 2,000 extant letters, many of them laboriously copied by Muhlenberg and thus preserved. Several years ago Kurt Aland, professor at

[4] *The Journals of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg,* ed. and trans. T. G. Tappert and J. W. Doberstein, 3 vols. (Philadelphia, 1942—58). There is also a one-volume abridgment, *The Notebook of a Colonial Clergyman* (Philadelphia, 1959).

the university in Halle, planned to publish the correspondence between Halle and America, but his recent flight to West Germany called a halt to this project. Relatively few Muhlenberg letters have been published in his Journals and in the Halle Reports.

6. *Remarkable Instances.* It remains to mention one other category of writings. As a pietistic pastor of the eighteenth century, Muhlenberg was always alert to observe what he regarded as remarkable evidences of the operation of the Holy Spirit in the lives of individuals. In the course of his pastoral ministry among the troubled, the sick, and the dying he set down in writing what we would today probably call case studies, and sometimes he read a part of what he had written to edify or admonish mourners at the funerals of the subjects. Muhlenberg called these "merkwuerdige Exempel."[5] Some of them were published in the Halle Reports. More of them have come down to us in manuscript. These have not been published because our taste in "edifying literature" has changed since the eighteenth century and because we are no longer so sure as Muhlenberg was that the hand of God can easily be discerned in the events of an individual's career. But even these writings are important if we are to understand the patriarch and his times.

Some may quarrel about the failure to mention the liturgy of 1748, the model congregational constitution of 1762, and the synodical constitution of 1781. These have often been ascribed to Muhlenberg, but they were the work of committees, and if they are to be ascribed to individuals at all, Brunnholz, Wrangel, and Kunze are respectively the men who should be mentioned.

Even excluding such items, it must be conceded that Muhlenberg was a prolific author. His contemporaries would hardly have thought of him in such terms, for most of his writings were published, insofar as they have been published, long after his death. But the fact that he was an author gives additional significance to the inscription on the plain, flat slab of marble over his grave, "Who and what he was the future will know without a monument of stone."

[5] Cf. *Hallesche Nachrichten,* II, 445—93, 501—20, 588—615, 637—48.

SERVING LOVE: CHAPTERS IN THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE DIACONATE IN AMERICAN LUTHERANISM. By Frederick S. Weiser. Multilithed. To be had from the Board of Deaconess Work of the United Lutheran Church in America. 228 pages.

Serving Love is a thesis submitted to the faculty of Lutheran Theological Seminary at Gettysburg, Pa., in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of bachelor of divinity in May 1960. In it the author surveys deaconess work in this country between 1849 and 1916. Actually ten establishments, beginning in 1884, provide the subject matter for much of the thesis. William Alfred Passavant figures prominently in these pages. A list of deaconesses, 739 of them, who have been consecrated from the ten motherhouses, is given in the appendixes. The Conference of Evangelical Lutheran Deaconess Motherhouses, 1896—1916, is the topic of one of the major portions of the work. Here is an excellent contribution to a specific phase of the history of Lutheranism in America. We hope to see more studies of this caliber.

C. F. W. Walther's 1879 Edition of Baier's *Compendium* *

HENRY W. REIMANN, S. T. M.

An unknown writer in *Lehre und Wehre* (May 1864) wrote as follows concerning the relationship between John William Baier and Concordia Seminary, St. Louis.

> As long as the seminary has existed Baier's *Compendium* has been used as a basis for lectures in dogmatics. The reason for this is the fact that Baier was the one dogmatics that was easier to find than any other in the stores which sold old books. This is because it came out in thirteen editions from 1686 to 1750. But copies are getting more and more scarce. So I convinced Liesching in Stuttgart to reprint it for two Gulden as long as I guaranteed him that he would sell 200 copies in America. So don't put me to shame. Send your names in now to buy the book.[1]

If this is Ferdinand Walther's[2] notice, his project must have fallen through, since there was no Walther-Baier printed by Liesching in 1864. Perhaps there were not enough subscriptions. Perhaps the publisher dropped the reprint because of the Preuss edition of the same year printed at Berlin by Gustav Schlawitz. Perhaps it is even doubtful, to judge from the lack of Baier editions in Missouri Synod libraries, whether Baier was such a popular text at Concordia Seminary from 1839—1864.

What use was made of Preuss-Baier at Concordia Seminary after 1864 is fairly clear. That this edition was unfavorably received by the faculty because of printing mistakes might be gathered from book reviews of Walther's 1879 edition by Prof. Franz Pieper and Prof. E. W. Krauss.[3] However, it must be said that this judgment was made seven years after Preuss' departure for the Roman Catholic Church. Moreover, Walther himself refers to the Preuss edition of Baier in his foreword to the 1872 edition of Loeber's *Dogmatik*.[4] A clear indication that

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* A paper read at the Third Symposium on 17th Century Lutheranism, Wartburg Seminary, Dubuque, Iowa, on 6 June 1960. Prof. Reimann is Assistant Professor of Systematic Theology at Concordia Seminary, Saint Louis.

1 "Anzeige fuer Pastoren," *Lehre und Wehre,* X (May 1864), 148f. For this as well as other quotations from early Synodical literature, especially from Walther's letters (including the translations) I am indebted to Dr. Arthur Carl Piepkorn, who made available to me an excellent term paper produced by two of his graduate students in 1958. They are Edward Peters and Joseph Ellwanger, whose paper was titled "Why Walther Chose Baier's *Compendium* as the Basis for His Annotated Dogmatic," p. 3.

2 Ludwig Fuerbringer in his *Eighty Eventful Years* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1944), p. 81, reminds us of the error in Walther's name. His name was Ferdinand, and in his early years he always signed so. Only later was his signature "C. F. W. Walther." Cf. the signature on the 1750 edition of Baier's *Compendium* in Pritzlaff Memorial Library.

3 Franz Pieper, *Lehre und Wehre,* XXIV (December 1878), 371-2; E. W. Krauss, *Lehre und Wehre,* XXV (August 1879), 242f. Again I am indebted to the Peters-Ellwanger paper, pp. 2f.

4 "Zur Wiederauflegung dieses Buches (Loeber) ist der Herr Verleger dadurch ver-

Preuss-Baier was in use at "Concordia University" in the school year 1871—72 is the copy in Concordia Historical Institute with the inscription "Paul Schwan, 1871" and with copious student underlinings and notes. Perhaps it was Eduard Preuss who is most directly responsible for the Walther-Baier edition.

But before 1879 Dr. Walther had another project in mind, a project which has a rather significant bearing on the Walther-Baier edition. In 1865 Walther wrote to Henry C. Schwan (later to become his successor as president of Synod):

> I have unfortunately permitted myself to be persuaded to try to come up with a dogmatics for our time out of the dogmatics of our fathers that I get hold of. I am always brooding over the form that I should observe. Therefore I have decided that as far as the analysis of the whole is concerned, I must proceed synthetically, not analytically. It was clear to me long ago, and it becomes clearer to me all the time, that the choice of the analytical form, used since Calixt, was a mistake which produced a lot of unhealthy theology. I don't want to try to write a system, but a *Loci theologici*. Though I have no hope of finishing the work, I can start it. I couldn't think of carrying on such work undisturbed.[5]

Of course, Walther never did write such a *Loci*. That was left to his understudy and successor as president of Synod and Seminary, Franz Pieper. The closest Walther came was in his heavily emended Baier. On 22 May 1879 while the unbound numbers were apparently already coming off the presses of the Concordia Verlag (just 10 years old), he wrote in a letter: "I have been compelled by President Schwan to publish Baier's *Compendium* with annotations. That makes more work than one may imagine."[6]

In a book review that appeared already in the December 1878 issue of *Lehre und Wehre* Franz Pieper, who had just joined the faculty as Walther's 26-year-old colleague, wrote:

> Dr. Walther decided to publish Baier because of the need for it at the Seminary — to alleviate the time-consuming job of dictating. At first he planned to publish only the notes that he had collected, without the text itself. But he decided that we also need an edition of Baier that is more correct than Preuss. The notes explain certain sentences in Baier which could be misunderstood. And besides, Baier has only theses, not antitheses. The notes make up for this lack.[7]

In August 1879 the following announcement appeared in the *Lutheran Standard:*

> The sixth number of Dr. Walther's edition of Baier's *Compendium* is pub-

anlasst worden, dass sich nach dem Wiederabdruck des lateinischen *Compendiums* der Dogmatik von Baier (Berlin, Gustav Schlawitz) das Verlangen nach einem aehnlichen Werke in deutscher Sprache vielfach kundgegeben hat." Christian Loeber, *Evangelisch-Lutherische Dogmatik* with a foreword by C. F. W. Walther (St. Louis and Leipzig: Verlag von Fr. Dette, 1872), p. iv. Cf. also Fuerbringer, *Eighty Eventful Years*, p. 231.

[5] *Briefe von C. F. W. Walther*, ed. Ludwig Fuerbringer (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1915), I, 210. Cf. Peters-Ellwanger, p. 4.

[6] Letter from Walther to G. E. C. Ferdinand Sievers, dated 22 May 1879. Available in Concordia Historical Institute, St. Louis, Mo. Cf. Peters-Ellwanger, pp. 4f.

[7] Pieper, rev. of C. F. W. Walther, ed. *Joh. Guilielmi Baieri Compendium Theologiae Positivae* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1879),

lished. It contains the conclusion of Part II and the beginning of Part III. The price of each number is 50 cents. The first two parts have been bound together in one large volume, which is offered for sale for $3.50. Those who prefer it can thus procure the numbers, as far as issued, in a bound volume. The rest of the excellent books will probably make another volume of equal size. We again call the attention of those who can understand Latin to this valuable publication. It is to be had of M. C. Barthel, corner of Miami Street and Indiana Avenue, St. Louis, Mo.[8]

Actually what the publisher calls Volumes I and II are bound together in this one "large" volume. The second was an even larger volume of unequal size. The title page for Volume I is Baier's *Prolegomena;* thereupon follow the Vita of Baier composed by M. Joh. Casp. Zeumer (iii—vi), a list of Baier's works (vi—ix), the dedication to Duke Frederick of the first (1686) edition (xi—xv), the preface to the third (1694) edition (xvi—xviii), the tract preface to the second (1691) edition (ixx—xxiii), and then 189 pages for the two chapters on the Prolegomena.

Now follows Vol. II, *Pars Prima et Secunda,* with new pagination and a new frontispiece. *Pars Prima,* pp. 1—266, has Baier's ten chapters from *De Deo* to the Last Judgment. *Pars Secunda* has Baier's three short chapters on Sin (pp. 266—329). Vol. III, bound separately, includes Baier's long *Pars Tertia* with the sixteen major chapters from *De Gratia* to *De Statu Domestico.* There are 787 pages in Vol. III of Walther-Baier. It would seem probable that when the first sections of the edition were published it was the intention to put out a three-volume set — each volume bound separately. Perhaps it was Walther's extensive additions to Baier's *Pars Tertia* that made Walther-Baier essentially a two-volume edition. Or perhaps the four-volume interleaved edition is the best witness to the original plan. Vol. I (Proleg.) and Vol. II. (Parts I and II) are each printed separately. But Vol. III appears in an *a* and *b* section. *Sectio Prima* contains the first six chapters of *Pars Tertia* (pp. 1—338) and *Sectio Altera* contains chapters seven to sixteen (pp. 337—787).

Unfortunately, unlike the Preuss edition, Walther's edition of 1879 contains no indication of the edition that he used, nor is there a foreword. It would seem, however, Walther used an edition later than the seventh (1708), since both this edition, which is the oldest in the possession of Pritzlaff Memorial Library, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, and the third edition (1694), which Preuss edits, have a longer title than that which appears in Walther. The shorter title appears on the 1717 (9th), 1739 (11th), and the 1750 (12th) editions. The last, found in the unaccessioned volumes of Pritzlaff Library, is Walther's own copy.

Lehre und Wehre, XXIV (Dec. 1878), 371 to 373.

[8] *Lutheran Standard,* XXXVII (30 August 1879), 269. The Rev. August R. Suelflow, Director of Concordia Historical Institute, hazarded the opinion to the writer recently that Walther-Baier was printed in serial form. He reminded him that Hoenecke's *Dogmatik,* which also has different volume format, was printed in that fashion.

However, it would seem that all the editions after the third (1694) follow essentially that final edition from Baier's own hand. Even if Walther used the 1750 edition, it stands to reason that he used Preuss

even when correcting him. Whether Walther actually used any editions prior to 1708, or even the first three editions themselves, would appear doubtful. Nevertheless, the 1864 *Lehre und Wehre* article cited above shows that the Missouri Synod fathers were aware of the thirteen editions from 1686 to 1750. Since Preuss' edition, in the estimation of the editor, is the thirteenth,[9] there is apparently an error in one or the other numeration. According to Preuss, Walther-Baier would be the 14th edition; according to Walther (?) the fifteenth.

Actually, Walther's *Editio Auctior et Emendatior* is more like the many synopses and/or emendations

9 "Centum per annos secutos nulla editio, quantum equidem video, apparuit. Nostra igitur, nisi si qua fugerit, decima tertia est." *Jo. Guil. Baieri Compendium Theologiae Positivae,* ed. Ed. Preuss (Berlin: Gust. Schlawitz, 1864); p. xii. In a footnote Preuss refers to an 18th-century history of Baier's *Compendium.*

(such as Reusch's 1757 work)[10] except that now the emendations are incorporated into the text. The emendations, however, are not really notes as Dr. Pieper claims. Rather, after many of Baier's subpoints come additional quotations from the fathers, especially the Lutheran theologians, most especially Luther and Quenstedt, together with Gerhard, Chemnitz, Calov, and most of the theologians of any consequence in the 16th and 17th centuries. Quenstedt is especially useful for Walther in those sections of these extended citations titled "Antitheses." Very frequently after citing Quenstedt's antitheses, Walther begins his collection of objectionable views found in "moderns" like von Hofman (especially this celebrated theologian), Delitzsch, Kahnis, Luthardt, Thomasius, et al. Very rarely are any of these contemporaries cited approvingly. Occasionally there is even an English quotation. Once even the Koran is cited! Sometimes the quotations from Luther or Quenstedt run for pages, e. g., the six pages from Luther in the section on Holy Communion.[11]

In comparing Walther-Baier with the Preuss edition it was striking that although Preuss uses such small type and format, when Walther has the least to add, the total pages amount to about the same total. However, the entire material is about 1½ to 2 times as bulky as Preuss' straight rendering of Baier. In a chapter-by-chapter comparison it was consistently in Part III where Walther expanded most. The greatest amount of added citations appeared in the following chapters: Justification (about four times as much), Person of Christ, States and Office (4), Law and Gospel (3), Sacraments, especially Lord's Supper (3), Ministry (3), Election (3), Faith (2½), Church (2), Civil Government (2), Creation (2), Nature of Theology (2).[12]

With this kind of structure Walther-Baier is a storehouse of quotations from Lutheran orthodoxy as well as from some of the early fathers. The latter would have to be checked in Walther's major sources to see if he was not in fact borrowing at second hand their patristic learning. Baier is left intact, and the editor, to my sketchy knowledge, never takes direct issue even with the supposed synergism of Musaeus that was to have infected Baier. Baier is supplemented rather than corrected.

[10] Cf. the 1739 edition in Pritzlaff Library. Walther quotes Reusch many times.

[11] The English quotation in III, 9, is from the Constitution of the Presbyterian Church in America. The citation from the Koran is I, 130. The citation from Luther is in III, 510—516.

[12] The following are the total number of pages in each author.

		Preuss	Walther
III, 5	Justification	16	59
III, 2	States of Christ	5	25
	Offices	8	34
III, 7	Law and Gospel	21	63
III, 11	Lord's Supper	14	42
III, 14	Ministry	16	41
III, 12	Election	22	74
III, 3	Faith	18	43
III, 13	Church	37	69
III, 15	Civil Government	10	21
I, 2	Creation	15	27
Pro., 1	Nature of theology	42	78

The reasons why the antitheses cited from contemporary theologians were erroneous were either self-evident according to Walther or they were to be demonstrated by competent teachers. It is plain that Walther-Baier was a resource book for teaching dogmatics. And while it was a highly useful book for this purpose, and still is (the type, margins, interleaf printings, etc., make it a notable contribution to seminary instruction in Lutheran dogmatics), it would seem to me that Baier's *Compendium* was no longer really Baier, nor was it a compendium. It was a junior-size dogmatic source book with the stamp of Walther and 19th-century Lutheran controversy stamped on it. It certainly is no creative work in systematic theology.

Twenty years later a very valuable index was published. Dr. Theodore Buenger, a nephew of Walther's, who worked as professor at Concordia College, St. Paul, Minn., into the forties of this century, published a five-part index to Walther-Baier.[13] The early editions, at least by the 1708 edition, included a four-part index made initially by Henry Christopher Ludwig (1661—1726), Baier's good friend and dean at Rudelstadt.[14] Preuss' index had only parts one and three. Buenger's 1899 index of Walther-Baier has 132 pages with a five-part index: 106 pp. of places, names, and authors, 7 pp. of Scripture references, 16 pp. of Baierian axioms,[15] and finally 29 Baier phrases which Buenger says (from articles and classroom notes) Walther did not approve.[16] Finally there is the remarkably small list of 26 corrigenda in Vol. I—III. This index is very useful for a quick survey of the bulk cited by Walther from the various authors. It seems that his strength did not lie in citations from the Scriptures or the Confessions. Actually he does not add any Scriptural citations.

Inevitably any study in the one 19th-century edition of Baier will lead into a study of the other. Lic. Dr. Eduard Preuss of Berlin had already made a scholarly name for himself, and had endeared a place for himself in the hearts of Lutheran conservatives by his 1861 edition of Chemitz' *Examen*. From 1862 to 1868 he edited the first six volumes of Gerhard's *Loci*. (This work was interrupted by his hasty departure for America in 1869). In 1864 he edited the third edition of Baier's *Compendium*, and dedicated it to the "Evangelical Church which is in America." In this brief dedicatory address Preuss reminds American evangelicals of the sound doctrine confessed by Chemnitz and Gerhard, which he had edited. Now he puts out Baier

[13] The title page follows the same form as the 1879 edition. However, below Walther's name appears in bold print: *Indices fecit Theo. Buenger.*

[14] Cf. the preface to the third edition found in Walther-Baier, p. xvi, where Baier mentions Ludwig's work.

[15] The first of these, which are carefully cited and arranged according to the chapter divisions of Baier, is the following: "Notitia Dei naturalis aut nulla aut imperfecta aut languida est. I, 18."

[16] The second of these reads: "Theologiae genus esse scientiam practicam. I, 32.33s. (Vid verba Calovii I, 34s.; 'Lehre und Wehre' 34, 97s.)"

ut adolescentes vestros facilius sanam doctrinam docere possitis. Non istum mixtum compositum, quod novatores superbi ex ipsorum cordibus obtenebratis confingant, verum illam doctrinam simplicem certam firmam, pro qua patres nostri certarunt.[17]

According to Preuss, in editing this work he was recalling to light a work "quod raro invenitur."[18] Preuss' Vita of Baier (pp. v-xiv) is rather complete.

This is based on the *Memoria* of Pipping; a copy of this book was lent Preuss by Dr. Kahnis of Leipzig.[19] Especially helpful are pages xi-xiv in which are given the details concerning the 12 editions from 1686—1750. From footnotes it is clear that Preuss actually had in hand copies of the first three editions. He mentions the libraries and librarians to whom he was indebted. Here are some of the interesting details that Preuss includes. The first edition (1686) was rather short, but it was so replete with errors that it needed seven full pages of corrections. In the second edition (1691) Baier met the charges against Musaeus' orthodoxy by quoting many of the orthodox worthies.[20] The third edition, also published at Jena, was emended at length and included H. Christopher Ludwig's index. Of this edition Preuss comments: "Haec autem editio optima et rarissima summam fidem meretur siquidem b. Baierus ultimam manum admovit."[21] The other editions are 1698, 1704, 1706, 1708, 1712, 1717, 1724, 1739, 1750. Of the seventh edition (1708), a copy of which is accessioned in Pritzlaff Memorial Library, Preuss writes:

> septima contra anno 1708 divulgata ad editionem tertiam proxime puritate accedit, eaque pleraeque sequentes ut fundamento nituntur. Ita quidem factum est, ut hujus editionis errores in omnes fere, quae postea viderunt lucem, transirent.[22]

In a footnote Preuss remarks of the 1750 edition: "Haec saepius reperitur quam aliae. Ipse ejus exemplum in manibus habeo."[23] So evidently had Walther.

In his scholarly way Preuss included two title pages. The second, we trust, is the reduplication of the 1694 edition. After this come in order the dedication of the first edition (xvii—xxii), *Praefatio editionis secundae* (*De Syzetesei Concilii Hierosolymitani* etc.) pp. xxiii—xxxi, and finally the *Praefatio editionis tertiae* (xxxii—xxxvi). If this is the actual order of the 1694 edition, then it is almost certain that, at least in this ordering of the prefaces, Walther followed neither Preuss nor any of the editions earlier than 1708. In a very, very few places Preuss has added footnotes in the text of Baier to mark some *Sonderlehre*.

This is the edition of Baier that

17 Preuss-Baier, p. iv.

18 Ibid.

19 Ibid., note on p. vi.

20 Cf. Baier's remarks on controversy in the preface to that second edition, Walther-Baier, xix-xxiii, and his words regarding Musaeus in the preface to the third edition, xvi—xviii.

21 Preuss-Baier, p. xii.

22 Ibid.

23 Ibid.

evidently was used at Concordia Seminary some years from 1864—1879.[24] During two of those years (1869—1871) Preuss was a professor at Concordia Seminary. He resigned on 1 Dec. 1871, and on 25 Jan. 1872 was baptized at St. Mary of Victory Church, 744 S. 3d St., St. Louis.[25] That he took the baptismal name "Maria Polycarpus" is documented not only in *Lutheraner* article of 15 Feb. 1872[26] but also in the Paul Schwan copy of Preuss-Baier.[27] That Dr. Walther, in his 1872 foreword to his Loeber edition, does not mention Preuss' name in referring to the wish of the publisher of the Latin Baier (Berlin: Gustav Schlawitz) for a German dogmatics of similar nature, is understandable. How much Walther's disillusionment with Preuss may have led to the 1879 edition of Baier is only conjecture. After the early months of 1872 Eduard Preuss (except for Ludwig Fuerbringer's chapter in 1944) dropped from Missouri Synod literature to become only a legend.

Finally, a few words about Baier. After all, without John William Baier there never would have been any Preuss-Baier or Walther-Baier, or any paper like this one. John William Baier, Sr., was born at Nuernberg on 11 Nov. 1647.[28] His father, also Joh. William Baier, had died two months before. Mother Susanna (nee Schroeck) raised the child, who was weak from birth. He was sent to Holy Ghost school in Nuernberg, and then in 1659 to the Gymnasium. In 1664 at 17 he went to the University of Altdorff, and in 1667 before he was twenty he presented his dissertation "De pugna Affectum et Rationis." He is supposed to have listened often and attentively to the theologian John Conrad Duerr expound the catechetical institutes of Dietrich. In 1669 he went to Jena, where he remained as a student and professor for 35 years. Immediately he became much attached to John Musaeus (1613—1681), the first-ranking theological professor there, who had entered the syncretistic fray that was raging even though George Calixt had died in 1656. According to Preuss' Vita, Musaeus' principles were that dissent in modes of teach-

24 Dr. Fuerbringer writes: ". . . which edition Dr. Walther used as a textbook for his classes before he published his own edition of Baier." *Eighty Eventful Years*, p. 231.

25 For the best condensation of the Preuss affair (including his dates 10 July 1834 to 17 July 1904) cf. ibid., 230—238. Cf. also Preuss' anonymous work *Zum Lobe der unbefleckten Empfängniss der allerseligsten Jungfrau* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herdersche Verlagshandlung, 1879) pp. 181—227, where Preuss writes of his road to Rome.

26 *Der Lutheraner*, XXVIII (15 February 1872), 73—75, is Walther's own and only account of the Preuss affair. He includes the text of the announcement in the Roman Catholic *Herold des Glaubens* that Preuss had been baptized on the feast of holy Polycarp and had taken the above name. Walther's long article explaining Preuss' defection and defending himself is titled "Ein Abfall."

27 This copy owned by Concordia Historical Institute bears the inscription "Paul Schwan, Concordia University, St. Louis, 1871." On the title page Preuss' first name is scratched out and "Maria Polycarpus" is substituted. After his name is added: "qui nunc papista, Jan. 25, 1872."

28 Most of the following is found in the Vita in Walther-Baier. Preuss' Vita has a few more details. Joecher's work has an excellent summary of Baier's life and work as well as the details of the lives of his two most important sons.

ing and defending doctrine have to exist, and that this should be tolerated if the foundation is not touched but that it should be removed by fraternal admonition. Baier is supposed to have embraced this theological procedure with all his heart.[29] At any rate, five years later, in 1674, he married Dr. Musaeus' second daughter, Anna Catharina. Six sons were born, of whom the three oldest survived their father. John William, Jr. (1675—1729) joined the faculty of philosophy at Jena in 1703 (nine years after his father's departure), and in 1704 became professor of physics and mathematics at Altdorff. In 1719 he became professor of theology there. John Jacob Baier (1677—1735) was made doctor of medicine at Jena in 1701. In 1704 he became professor of medicine at Altdorff. Another son, John David received his master's degree in philosophy.

Soon after arriving at Jena, John William, Sr., held his disputation on the authority of the Council of Nicea against a Socinian and Arian. In 1673 at the command of the Duke of Gotha he sought the highest theological honors of the licentiate. His dissertation was against Ebermann. In 1674 he began to teach church history, and after Rector Sebastian Niemann had been called to Schleswig-Holstein, Baier became a theological ordinary. In 1682 he was commissioned by his duke to officially discuss the program for reunion with Rome with the papal legate, the Bishop of Tina. The Abbess of Quedlingburg also used the advice of Baier. When Elector Frederick III of Brandenburg founded the University of Halle in 1694, Baier was called as the first theological professor and the first rector of the university. He stayed only a year, and in 1695 he was called by the duke of Weimar to become Consistorial rat, Oberhofprediger, Stadtpfarrer and Generalsuperintendent. He arrived at Weimar on 16 June a sick man, and died 19 October 1695.

His work during his relatively short life of 48 years was prodigious. His polemical work was mainly against the Quakers. His *Compendium theologicae historicae* and the *Compendium theologicae exegetica* are in Pritzlaff Library. But the work for which he became famous was the *Compendium theologiae positivae*. As Baier writes in the dedication to Duke Frederick of Saxony, Musaeus had given him the commission to write a *Compendium* shortly after he began his career as professor in 1674. He had delayed fearing that he was not yet able to produce anything solid. But then after more than ten years of teaching this *Compendium*, and when his father-in-law had been dead five years, he published it.

One hundred ninety-three years later, Walther published his edition of Baier. Eighty years later a Baier in English should be due. Why not an English Baier? Or an English Walther-Baier? Perhaps this would help us to judge how Baier has shaped our heritage.

[29] Preuss-Baier, p. vii.

Recent Publications

A CENTURY OF BLESSINGS: A Centennial History of the Kansas District of The Lutheran Church — Missouri Synod, 1861—1961. L. H. Deffner, editor. Published by the Kansas District. 83 pages.

In the Foreword to this *Centennial History of the Kansas District of the Missouri Synod* Dr. L. H. Deffner, the editor and principal author, writes: "Along with the efforts of those who have gone before we here record some of the things the present generation is doing for Christ and His Kingdom." This is an apt description of church history, the things done for Christ and His kingdom. In this instance they are things done on the frontier during pioneer days, during the period of growth and extension, during periods of sunshine and storms.

Prof. J. W. Werling calls the history of the Kansas District "essentially a history of home missions." The multiphase activities included in "the things done for Christ" are sketched under various headings. The booklet is well illustrated and made up in an attractive format.

C. S. M.

LUTHER COLLEGE 1861—1961. By David T. Nelson. Decorah, Iowa: Luther College Press, 1961. xvi and 429 pages. Cloth. $6.00.

For many years Luther College sent all her ministerial candidates to Concordia Seminary in St. Louis. The ties between this school and the Missouri Synod have been close.

Now in 1961, when Luther College celebrates its centennial, a new history has been published of this school. Written by David T. Nelson, who for forty years has taught English at Luther, it is a most impressive work: cautious, scholarly, discerning.

Luther College 1861—1961 is a book which should claim the interest of more than just the school's alumni. There is much interesting data in the book concerning the relations between the school and Concordia Seminary in St. Louis. The college was patterned in many ways after Concordia Seminary. And yet in certain important respects it went beyond the system of the Missouri Synod, particularly in its determination to free itself from the *Gymnasium* system and secure a genuine four-year preseminary program.

Luther College has changed through the years. After the depression it became coeducational. And it now offers a general liberal arts curriculum rather than one specifically pretheological. But perhaps it can still be said of Luther College in the words of one of her alumni, "No tricks of expediency, no false gods, no obscurity of purpose, no ambitions of men, no spurious standards have cut her adrift from her original moorings."

Two minor questions arose in the mind of this reviewer as he read the book. First, it would appear that the author is following the false lead of Nelson-Fervold in *The Lutheran Church Among the Norwegian-Americans* when he says that the laity of the Old Norwegian Synod was not very much in favor of alignment with the German Missouri Synod. For years the synod and Missouri worked together jointly and harmoniously at a Ladies' Seminary at Red Wing, Minnesota, and in other ventures. Even today one will meet few laymen from the Old Norwegian Synod who do not have a soft spot in their hearts for the Missouri Synod. The other question concerns the political views of the Old Norwegian Synod pastors. Nelson says that of all the pastors probably only Laur. Larsen was a Democrat. On good authority it can be said that H. A. Preus was a Democrat and an advocate of states' rights, at least in his earlier years. This story of an outstanding liberal arts college merits wide dissemination.

ROBERT PREUS

THE GOLDEN HOUSE OF NERO. By Axel Boethius. The Jerome Lectures, Fifth Series. Ann Arbor, Michigan: The University of Michigan Press, 1960. viii and 195 pages. Cloth. $15.00.

Beginning with the Iron Age, Axel Boethius traces the development and modification of Roman architecture through Etruscan and Hellenistic influence up until the time of imperial Rome, culminating with a detailed study of the *domus aurea* of Nero. It is interesting that the author regards the continued use of Roman monumental architecture down through the years as largely due to the influence of the Christian church.

JOHN B. KOCH

MESSAGES FROM GOD'S WORD. By Hanns Lilje. Translated by Walter G. Tillmanns. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1961. iv and 196 pages. Cloth. $3.95.

Hannover's Lutheran bishop, the former president of the Lutheran World Federation, has five series of meditations: Abraham, the father of faith; New Testament songs of praise, the Magnificat, the Benedictus, the Nunc Dimittis; the Sermon on the Mount; the Emmaus experiences; and Peter's conversations with the risen Lord. They are arresting, Gospel-filled, devotional.

C. S. M.

Editorial Comments

Thoughts While Traveling

Travel is easier by car today than it was by train 25 years ago. Most of the roads are smooth as rails. With motor club aid, or just by watching the signs, it is almost impossible to land in a shoddy motel or a poor-quality restaurant.

Have you ever stopped to think how much transportation controlled the sites of our cities? Cincinnati, Louisville, St. Louis, and St. Paul are famous towns. Chicago grew because of railroads. Wheeling (W. Va.), Columbus, Indianapolis, and Terre Haute were stagecoach stops on the old National Road Hwy. 40). Cairo, Ill., and Galena lost their status because the railroads didn't need them. The river steamers did. There is a town in Ohio, about 40 miles east of Fort Wayne, called Junction. At one time it had three hotels and was a thriving place. One Fort Wayne businessman sold all his property and moved to Junction, believing he could make his fortune there because it was an important transfer point on the old canals. Today it is a curve in a minor highway marked by a gas station and a few homes. The canal passenger business ended about 110 years ago. We don't know what happened to the poor guesser from Fort Wayne.

There are some picturesque towns not far from Chicago. We would nominate Logan and Hamilton, Ohio; Galena, Illinois; and especially Escanaba, Michigan (towards Gladstone). Maybe we like these places because they are far removed from commuter traffic. Some people are more urban minded than we.

Were you ever inside a nuclear reactor plant? There is a new one near Charlevoix, the Big Rock station, which allows visitors inside the sphere housing the reactor. . . . If people were more devout today, they would say: "What hath God wrought?" No visitors will be allowed inside, once the reactor is completed a year from now.

It is somewhat thrilling to discover how easy it is to find one's church while traveling. A Missouri Synod church is available almost anywhere you go. With a *Lutheran Annual* at hand you can attend services even at the last minute, since the time of worship is always listed. . . .

The most unforgettable experience — watching the sunset from the top of the bluff outside the lodge at Starved Rock State Park. God has created some beautiful scenes that are going to waste because of our hurry. Watch for some of them.

M. R. Kluender in *Tower Topics*, III (August 1961), lf.

The Brunn Building at Steeden

St. Peter's Congregation in Brooklyn has contributed $1,000 for the rehabilitation of the building in which Fr. Brunn instructed over 200 men who entered the ministry of the Missouri Synod. The year 1961 marks the 100th anniversary of the opening of this school. Readers wishing to contribute to this rehabilitation fund may send their money to the editor of the QUARTERLY.